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my family and myself, the rest follows as a matter of course. I must gather retainers about me, more of them if possible than he can command, and keep them more effectively armed. I dare not let them do much at cultivating the ground,—not more than enough to provide the most necessary food,—for the attack may come upon me any hour. I must make my home as much like a penitentiary as my means allow, with stone walls and iron bars and moats and scanty contracted windows; must put up drawbridge for door and portcullis for portico, and provide a warder for every opening. When I venture forth, I must put on helmet and corselet and greaves, and only move under guard, for fear of some neighbor,—whose possible onslaught may, after all, be undertaken only because he apprehends the same offensive operations from me, and judges it better to let the battle come before I prepare myself too completely. Such a state of mind, with all thoughts given to hostilities, is but too prone to become contagious and afflict a whole community. The more one man arms and fortifies, the more is another impelled to follow his example, even surpassing it if he can. Thus is the citizen's attention turned away from production to destruction, from aid in building up the social fabric to the devil's service in battering it to pieces.

The contrast has often been drawn between man's feebleness when alone and his mighty power in combination with his fellows. Is there any need of comparing universal coöperation with universal hostility to decide which of the two makes him more effective in forming and strengthening the state, and in doing the work for which he was placed on this earth? Is there any need of further inquiry, when we know that one age of history was distinguished by general antagonism and another by general helpfulness, why the former age proved utterly barren and the latter age wonderfully rich in those triumphs of mind over matter, of knowledge and inventive skill, which form the truest claim of humanity to greatness? The reason why we so unhesitatingly speak of the nineteenth as a greater century than the fifteenth, for example, in the world's history, cannot be intelligently given without frankly confessing the superiority of the social institutions that we have developed by outgrowing distrust of our fellows and promoting sympathy with them.

The fact is, a community, such as we now know, could not survive if man looked upon his neighbor in any such way as every nation continues to look upon other nations. The wholesale distrust which would necessarily prove the ruin of any community can be indulged with greater impunity among nations, not at all because it is not harmful in the wider as in the narrower field, but because the harm it does is less easy to detect and discriminate, less constant and violent in its working. Most of us rarely, some of us never, pass a day when some matter of high importance to our welfare does not depend on our ability to confide in our fellows, often to the extent of entrusting our lives to strangers, as in travel by railway or steamship, stopping at hotels, or even walking the streets. We feel the same confidence, it may be added, to almost the same degree, in foreign countries as in our own. Yet we regard it as necessary in our dealings on a national scale to abandon this attitude of confidence, so satisfactory to us in individual dealings, to regard our

brother nation as we never—until compelled by irresistible proofs—regard our fellow-man,—as a natural enemy, who is only pretending to be anything else in order to gain time and opportunity for a deadlier blow. The individual German or Japanese or Chinaman we trust, but the nation of Germans or Japanese or Chinamen—an aggregate of units each of which we might treat as we would a fellow-citizen—is to be looked upon as imagining only evil, and that continually.

There never was any progress in understanding the laws of higher organisms till the philosophers began to see in them consolidations and further developments of simpler organisms. Thus they learned how the animated being was a combination of cells, the whole having the character, in a way, of all its elements; thus the community was understood through its component individuals and the human aggregate through the small social units combining to form it. One of the laws brought to light by this comparative study is that of a tendency on the part of the more complex organism to follow the same lines of development traced out by the simpler, but to be slower in reaching a corresponding stage. For example, the cell may form, mature in size and function, and decay in a few hours, while the being of which it forms part requires many years to grow, ripen and pass away. So it was long ago observed that the national aggregate, passing through stages of development similar to those in the life-history of the smaller social units, was always several centuries later in reaching corresponding points. If this is a law of nature we must accept it as such, and repress our disappointment that nation lags so far behind community in this important progress from distrust and hostility to amity and coöperation. Nevertheless, assured as we must be of the direction that national progress is to take, may we not reasonably hope soon to see some clear indication of a substantial advance in that direction?

YORK, PA.

Peace Work in the South.

BY THOMAS J. MIDDLETON.

Editor of the Ellis County Mirror.

[From a Letter sent to the Texas State Peace Congress in November.]

Examining one of our standard revised cyclopedias, I find the article on "Peace" starting out, "A suspension of war, etc.," as though war were yet the normal condition of man; and the article on "War," which covers ten times the space of the one given to "Peace," says of war, "Its permanence is thoroughly believed in by those who seem most competent to judge."

Again, one writer, speaking of our threatened war with Spain in 1873, says that in our diplomacy we cabled the things that made for war, while we sent by mail the things that made for peace; and it may thus be seen how in our literature, and even in our government itself, obstacles have been continually thrown in the way of peace.

War always makes a parade, while peace is content with quieter methods; and it would be amusing, if it were not so serious, to watch the working out of some of our ideas and movements in this country and government, which, offered ostensibly for peace, can but logically and finally lead to war. And in this connection we

must all appreciate the well pointed sarcasm of the wag who suggested that the Nobel prize which went to Baroness von Suttner was due to some American, and that we should have contended for it, even to a naval demonstration against Norway.

Perhaps the most effective method toward active peace work with us will be to fairly investigate the causes, as well as results, of some of our own wars, the last three of which can be shown, if not wholly indefensible, to be without results that might not have been much better obtained by peaceful methods.

Benton, Schouler and others furnish prompt proof to any one seeking it in sincerity that our war with Mexico was absolutely indefensible and inexcusable.

Coming to our great war, the task is more difficult by reason of the sentiment that has been woven around it, and yet it should begin now to dawn on us that we settled little by the four years of strife and blood that might not have been settled otherwise; and then as to settlements, let us answer with ourselves and among ourselves if some of these things that we counted settled for many years after Appomattox are not coming rapidly again to be unsettled; and while we prate loudly of the benefits that have come of that war, we should remember against these the costs, *the fearful costs* in human sacrifice, and the tax burdens, heavy after nearly half a century.

As to our last war, it is a conviction with me that it was precipitated by influences and inheritances that came to us from the great war.

In the early nineties I wrote the editor of the *Arena* to know if he would give space to an article warning against a growing war spirit in the South and based very largely on the desire to prove by a war test our fidelity to the Union. The editor replied that he had not thought there was a demand for that sort of matter, but that he would consider it if I cared to prepare such article. It is said that men write for the magazines and their grandchildren may read the articles; and as I watched from month to month for the appearance of my paper I thought a war would beat it in spite of me. It came, though, ahead of our war with Spain, and in that war, with its boisterous origin, I saw verified some of the propositions and conclusions that I had set forth in the paper; and at the Thanksgiving following the war I heard the remarkable statement from the pulpit that if we got no other benefit from our war with Spain the better cementing of the two sections had fully justified it. Then further on this sort of thing, I read in an influential journal the editorial expression that the war had brought results of this kind, but was too soon over for a complete success, and that we really needed one on a larger scale! This, all "in order to form a more perfect union, insure domestic tranquillity," etc.

It speaks little for our civilization that the costs in money of our wars is having more to do toward turning us to the study of peace than considerations of humanity; but let us welcome the promptings, whatever be the motives, and let us take up the work in Texas in gratefulness that a start has been made.

Prof. John W. Burgess, in his valuable historical series, says that the time has come when the South should admit her error in precipitating the war, and the North her error in Reconstruction. It is always difficult for individuals or groups to come straight up to the admission

of error, and in this is found an impediment to the best peace work.

Still, we must have the proper peace mood, we who would work for it. When many were coming to the baptism of John while he was preaching in the wilderness, that rough man of God warned them that they must bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and whatever may yet be the individual or collective opinion as to either or both of Professor Burgess's propositions, we must at least see, those of us who would work for a world peace, that the time has come when the two sections should quit falling on each other's necks in adoration of the way in which they once killed each other.

WAXAHACHIE, TEXAS.

International Jurisprudence.

[Extract from the reply of Hon. Elihu Root upon the presentation of Diploma by the Mexican Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation of Mexico, October 4, 1907.]

We are passing, undoubtedly, into a new era of international communication. We have turned our backs upon the old days of armed invasion; and the people of every civilized country are constantly engaged in the peaceable invasion of every other civilized country. The science, the literature, the customs, the lessons of experience, the skill, the spirit of every country, exercise an influence upon every other. In this peaceful interchange of the products of intellect, in this constant passing to and fro of the people of different countries of the civilized world, we find in each land a system of law peculiar to the country itself, and answering to what I believe to be a just description of all law which regulates the relations of individuals to each other, in being a formulation of the customs of the civil community. These systems of law differ from each other as the conditions, the customs of each people differ from those of every other people. But there has arisen in recent years quite a new and distinct influence producing legal enactment and furnishing occasion for legal development. That is the entrance into the minds of men of the comparatively new ideas of individual freedom and individual equality. The idea that all men are born equal, that every man is entitled to his life, his liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the great declarations of principle designed to give effect to the fundamental ideas of liberty and equality, are not the outcome of conditions or customs of any particular people, but they are common to all mankind.

Before the jurists and lawyers of the world there lies the task of adapting each special system of municipal law to the enforcement of the general principles which have come into the life of mankind within so recent a time, and which are cosmopolitan and world-wide and belong in no country especially. These principles have to be fitted to your laws in Mexico and our laws in the United States, and to the French laws in France and the German laws in Germany, and the task before the jurists and lawyers of the world is to formulate, to elaborate, to secure the enactment and enforcement of such practical provisions as to weld together in each land the old system of municipal law, which regulates the relations of individuals with each other in accordance with the time-honored traditions and customs of the race and country, and these principles of universal human freedom. Now,